payment and a man has but few (no study) have believed a real affection of husband for wife, and a rarity of divorce. This is reflected in the husband's behaviour to his wife, and in the absence of the custom found among the Ganda of letting a wife sleep with a visiting age-mate. A wife being a scarce commodity even she has been got, a man tends to do all he can to keep her, and he treats her well, with such kindness and consideration as one is accustomed to see in a lover, giving her all the endearments to a concubine the that are within his power. Although a man may be somewhat aloof when he is at home, his general attitude and behaviour to his wife form a good example for his sons to copy.

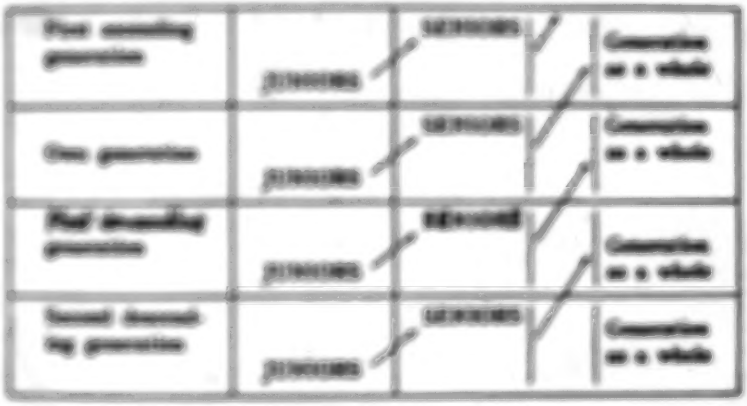
Children then grow up under the authority of two people who are more important to them than anyone else in the world, their father and mother. The father has authority over his wife because he provides food for her and her children by his own skill, and a primitive woman cannot exist without the support of a man. In the old days a frail wife had nowhere to go if her husband brought himself to the pitch of divorcing her, except back to her parents, who would not welcome an extra mouth to feed. Over his children a man has that authority which is based on the respect felt for a person whom they have most to respect. Incidents of the kind that I saw one day at the home of a man named Lwasaliti are not uncommon. A child was yelling outside the hut. Tigonasibe the mother told it to be quiet: it merely yelled louder. Lwasaliti then said quietly but firmly, Ow lukwanze (be quiet, child), and it was silent immediately.

As Crawford-Fenn has pointed out, the behaviour of father to mother must influence the attitude of a son to his mother[1]. It is the mother and other women who look after a child till nearly the age of puberty, and to-day as in the past, though the father is no longer wholly occupied in hunting and therefore spends more at home, the traditional pattern still holds good. I have seen there were even a man left in charge of his small children while his mother was away and treating them in the funny sort of way that one would expect of a man not very sure of his ground — sure of his authority, which was not being called in question, but not at all sure of his ability to deal with children problems which his mother on her return was quite at ease. It is the mother who gives the children basic comfort and protection; she it is who applies them the elementary rules of conduct and decency, who impresses upon them that they must obey father, because he is father, and who sees that as they grow older they help her with such small tasks as they can manage. It is to their mother that children run when hurt or frightened, and it is by her that they are rewarded when ill. She then has a large share in their affection, but this would be reduced if they saw her disrespectfully treated by their father. In the which, the claim is established among the Ganda by the way men treat their wives. Just as old age a mother is taken care of by her sons and whereas she brought them up in her infancy, so now in her old age she

[1] Man, 1929, 110

are known to each other and equals, being of the same generation. So too are the sons of the father's brother, also Kipkoiben and Kimnyigilo, who are member to Ego. But Ego will be circumcised at the same time as his brother A and his member C, whom his other brother B and member D are too young to be circumcised; B and D will therefore belong to junior age-sets, and when Ego, A, and C have been circumcised and are allowed to marry and indulge in other male pursuits, B and D will still have the inferior status of uniti or boys and be subordinate to their brothers as regards behaviour and social position.

Each generation in Dorobo fable is to be stratified in two layers comprising two age-sets which cut across the relationship system; and where the kinship behaviour patterns conflict with those of the age-set, the latter will prevail. Both sets in Ego's generation, for instance, will behave in the same way to father, father's brother, and father's father; but D and B cannot behave to Ego as C behaves to Ego, because they are merely boys who do not count for much, while Ego and C are men. Similarly, in the first descending generation all will behave in the same way to Ego's generation, but E and G must give to H, I, and F the respect that H, G, and F do not give to each other or to E and G. And the principle is the same with the second descending generation.




The effect of the age-set on behaviour is to strengthen the traditional rule of behaviour by emphasizing the disparity between seniors and juniors.

Age-sets also affect hospitality, for while an Dorobo would normally refuse to deliver one of his own wives, the degree of hospitality and of the intimacy to which he is admitted vary according to whether the visitor is an age-mate or not. If he is of the same age-set as his host (no matter what their respective ascendant may be), he will sleep along with the host and his wife, though he will not be given the host's wife to sleep with as among the Kanuli. But if he belongs to a different age-set, the wife will

4:Huntingford E.-5 (1928-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA



881 them complete adult members of the tribe, and no male could get a wife if he was uncircumcised; but it is possible for an uninitiated girl to get married, though few in fact are married without being circumcised.

### 2. Pre-marital sex-life

834 [885] Having attained manhood through circumcision, the Dorobo is free, subject to the restrictions inevitably imposed by a small population, to enter into legitimate sex-life. But unmarried men often have to go without a great deal of sexual experience before they marry, and some in fact never [589] marry at all because of the shortage of women. Even in the old days few girls were available, and there were only married women with whom they could not consort unless prepared to be shot by injured husbands if found 589 out. This state of affairs has led to some men living alone and unmarried, helped in their household tasks by women of the settlement. Some even did everything for themselves. The shortage of women, and the shyness of the Dorobo has resulted in a definite habit sufficiently to evidence to justify the application of a special term, for which I suggest the word *monkein*. And it is to be noted that the Dorobo have accepted the condition of *monkein* as something quite natural, whereas by many other peoples the unmarried state in a grown man is considered unnatural.

836 Young Dorobo to whom life without love does not appeal therefore wander about a good deal, going to places where they know there are girls, or women with whom they can have surreptitious affairs, such women often being the wives of age-mates, for although this is not openly allowed, a [837] woman will sometimes, when her husband is away, oblige one of his age-mates and say nothing about it. In favourable circumstances, however, where there are girls available, unmarried circumcised men build small huts called *ndimisiet* close to their fathers' huts, where they may sleep with uncircumcised girls, each man choosing a girl and associating with her till she is married. A Dorobo, unlike the Nandi, often marries his premarital lover. Uncircumcised boys caught by the men playing with girls who are sexually mature are beaten, for love affairs are the privilege of manhood.

### 3. Marriage

580 Dorobo generally marry women of an age fairly near their own, and do not by preference marry women very much younger than themselves.

584 A man chooses his wife for himself, and himself makes the preliminary arrangements. After making his choice, he takes the first step, by "going the journey" (*nendi kwisi*), to the hut of the girl's parents, or if they are dead, of a responsible relative, and hands over a large bag of honey, saying "I [illegible] presently". This ready acquiescence is due to the fact that the father already knows what is going on, for the suitor has been making enquiries about the girl, and such things always reach the ears of those concerned. Later

(See over.)

are bought from the latter for money, and finally half of the sum of a state female head of goats approximately the size of a calf. The mother of the bride and each of her brothers receive from the bridegroom a bedstraw system. Instead of the bedstraw the parents-in-law in some regions, especially where the Wandonobo live in close contact with the Ideal, receive iron wire. After receiving the gifts, the bridegroom and father-in-law reciprocally call each other by gamak, bridegroom and mother-in-law by ge-ge, bridegroom and the brothers of the bride by sulang, according to ancient Ideal custom.

For beauties an higher price is paid. For a childless widow the usual price is paid, but only after the birth of the first child and after her father has returned to the heirs of her deceased husband the price received for her before her first marriage. For a widow who gave birth to girls only, no bride price is paid (usual). However, the heir of her deceased husband keeps her daughters. Likewise nothing is paid for a woman driven out by her husband. If the bridegroom dies before the marriage, his brother takes the bride. If the bride dies before the marriage or if the betrothal ceases dissolve the betrothal, the portion of the bride price already paid is returned. A bridegroom who is too poor to be able to pay the full price serves the father-in-law for a few months as herder for the remainder owed.

If the father of the girl has arbitrarily opposed the courtship, he is finally forced to consent by means of a divine judgment. The lover excitedly creeps into the hut of the old man and ties a rope of grass around the wooden heavy pot. The father is not [yet] to give his consent regularly then, since otherwise the punishment of God would kill him. In place of his consent, it also happens that the lover secretly takes the girl away, or the latter — or among the Ideal — flees to him without her parents' knowledge.

Wife exchange occurs, but legal marriage does not arise from it. The woman does not cohabit with the other man for longer than a half or a whole year. If she feels pregnant before this time, she returns to her husband.

[illegible]